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**"The test of a society is not how  
it treats the people it likes but how  
it treats the people it dislikes."**

**— Herbert B. Ehrman**

# Religion and Labor

(Formerly Economic Justice)

BULLETIN OF THE RELIGION AND LABOR FOUNDATION, INC.

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## A SOUTHERNER LOOKS AT INTEGRATION

By Sarah Patton Boyle

Not one, but three great fears grip the white South today. These are fear of change, fear of the destruction of cherished qualities and attainments, and fear of various reprisals and social pressures.

Two small but powerful groups are now approaching hysteria. They are those who hate Negroes, and those who profit by maintaining segregation. Negro haters comprise not more than five per cent and quite possibly not more than three per cent of the white population of the rebellious region. Almost without exception they're not normal people but psychotics and near psychotics. It is safe to say almost no normal white Southerner hates Negroes. Throughout the entire South, Negroes make a special effort to be agreeable to white people, and particularly to white children. And normal people naturally respond to pleasant relationships with warmth and affection. Paternalism, not hostility, is characteristic of most Southern supporters of the status quo.

But this three to five per cent of Negro haters are the more dangerous because most of them are suffering from severe emotional disturbance. There's no reasoning with them, and no predicting what they will do. When organized, they change the whole atmosphere of their area, just as a small band of gangsters can terrorize a city.

Those who profit by maintaining segregation are composed chiefly of unprincipled politicians, who know they can garner votes by arousing fears of integration and then assuring the people that they will save them from it. They aid and encourage Negro haters in every way that they can.

### The Fear of Change

The familiar fear of change hangs like a chilly, heavy fog over practically everybody in the South, even the white integrationists, even the Negroes, reducing their ardor and efficiency just when

ardor and efficiency are needed most. Fear that integration will bring the destruction of virtually everything that is highest and best in our civilization is almost certainly the chief factor which makes the South different from any other region in the nation.

The average uneducated, or poorly educated, Southern white still believes that the Negro race belongs to a lower order of man than the white, and that therefore no amount of education, opportunity or moral training can bring him up to standard. A nation-wide survey made by the National Opinion Research Center of Chicago reveals that while roughly only fifteen per cent of Northern whites still believes the fiction of the racial inferiority of Negroes, about forty per cent of Southerners still do.

This makes it easy for rabble rousing race haters and ruthless politicians to panic and stampede masses of people simply by painting nightmarish pictures of what integration would mean. These victims of a belief in racial inferiority think of integration as something which cannot raise the Negro, yet will inevitably drag the white man down. Once you realize that this is the premise of forty per cent of the white South

there is no mystery at all attached to why she has been behaving as she has. These poor souls really think that the welfare of their children and the future of the nation are at stake.

### Where Are the Sixty Per Cent?

But where, you will ask, are the sixty per cent of white Southerners who don't subscribe to the myths of white superiority? If a reasonable percentage of them would stand up and be counted on the side of first class citizenship for the minority, there would be little difficulty in bringing desegregation about.

The average goodwilled, educated white Southerner, even though he may know that racial superiority is a figment of the imagination, has never personally talked with a cultivated Negro. Because of segregation the only Negroes he ever meets are his own cleaning women, chore boys, and day laborers. Even when he admits that no basic inferiority is involved, he tends to rate the Negro's present stage of development and acceptability far below what it actually is. He usually feels that while eventually the Negro will catch up, it will take him two or three generations to do so. He therefore maintains that the Negro should remain segregated until he is equal, and then be integrated. He asks, "Why is segregation any more of a handicap to Negroes than it is to whites? We don't mind staying on our side of the wall, so why should they mind staying on theirs?"

This is the group of whites which Negroes generally find the most baffling. Hatred they can understand. Fear they can understand. But the belief that they have nothing to complain of in segregation is something which few Negroes can believe is sincere. I can vouch for its sincerity, however, since I once subscribed to it.

It's safe to say that the only hope of getting white and colored Southerners

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*As a courageous and active Southern integrationist, Sarah Patton Boyle has endured the experiences suggested in the bold type section of her article. A professional writer, she has expressed her viewpoint in the Christian Century and Saturday Evening Post, among others. But she admits to being "a typical white Southerner" until her "conversion" when a young Negro lawyer sued for admission to the University of Virginia, where her husband is a professor, becoming its first colored student. This article is abridged from an address at the Second Baptist Church of Los Angeles some months ago.*

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Clair M. Cook, Editor

*The Religion and Labor Foundation is a voluntary membership organization dedicated to the promotion and extension of social and economic justice in the industrial life of the nation. It indulges in no sectarian propaganda and in no theological controversies.*

## Innocents Abroad

One item which took our eye recently was a two-page spread in *Justice*, the International Ladies Garment Workers' paper, with pictures of "The Grand Tour" of nine European countries by ninety members of a single New York local, at their own expense. The tour was arranged by the union, whose manager is Matthew Schoenwald.

All members of Local 62, undergarment workers, the tour took in the Brussels World's Fair, the Netherlands, Switzerland, Italy, France, London in a thirty-day visit which included for many members scenes familiar to their own or their parents' childhood. While the text does not indicate it, some of the pictures reveal that the group was interracial, and predominantly women.

The ILGWU has been noted as a pioneer in many activities for participation of its members — cooperative housing, the famous "Unity House" hotel and recreation resort in Pennsylvania, and various other projects. This is the first union-sponsored European tour for rank-and-filers that we have heard about, possibly the first to be attempted. It is significant, not alone for what it brought to the participants, but fully as much for the effect upon those with whom the group came in contact abroad. As *Justice* notes, "Wherever they went they functioned as free-lance good-will ambassadors of democratic labor."

To which is appended the comment of Victor Riesel: "These truly are innocents abroad — and the United States could well use a thousand more such workers' junkets." And well we could indeed. Local 62 deserves congratulations for the imagination and co-operation which resulted in such an unusual vacation experience for so many members.

## People or Machines?

The November issue of the *International Fire Fighter* carries an article relating in considerable detail the history of a long wage dispute by firemen and police of Flint, Michigan, which was settled with a five per cent wage increase.

Rev. C. C. Watkins, rector of St. Andrew's Episcopal Church in Flint for the past seventeen years, served as impartial chairman of a three-member arbitration panel whose recommendations resulted in the action by the city. The city was represented by Mr. Robson Smith, a City Commissioner, and the employees by Marlon Butler, UAW international representative and a former Flint City Commissioner, on the Board of Arbitration.

The Rev. Mr. Watkins made his own personal report in addition to that of the Board, in which he took to task the policy of budget makers who give top place to other needs and secondary consideration to employees: "The underlying philosophy of . . . 'placing in top priority materials and machines and the stockpiling of them' . . . is basically and morally wrong. MEN should have the top priority — not machines and material!"

Mr. Watkins continued by saying that he could see opposition to his point of view on the plea that "we will be short of machines and material to carry on our work." "To which I reply," he said, "with all the vehemence I can command, 'If shortage there is to be, it should be in that category, and not in the category pertaining to the bread and butter, the health, warmth and welfare of the families of city employees!'"

The viewpoint that machines are more important than men was perhaps never more sharply put than in the words of the head of a Fall River, Massachusetts, textile mill in 1855: "I regard my work-people just as I regard my machinery. So long as they can do my work for what I choose to pay them, I keep them, getting out of them all I can. What they do or how they fare outside my walls I don't know, nor do I consider it my business to know. They must look out for themselves as I look out for myself. When my machines get old and useless, I reject them and get new, and these people are part of my machinery."

Despite the decades since the insight that "labor is not a commodity," expressed by Bishop Potter a few years later, we have been slow to recognize the primacy of the individual human in

the industrial process. The coming of provision for old age, illness, and industrial accident as in any way a responsibility of employers has occurred only within memory. Yet a respect for persons, a concept of the dignity and worth of every individual, is basic to Judeo-Christian tradition.

Dr. Theodore Kreps, professor of business economics at Stanford University, has illustrated our continuing attitudes in industrial life by supposing that an iron beam should fall, hitting a machine and the laborer on it. "Who pays for repairing the machine? Accountants have long since set up a repair account to repair machines. Who pays for the repair of the workers? There is workmen's compensation, but in the United States this leaves unmet about two-thirds of the injured worker's wage loss alone."

Similarly, there is a "wear and tear account" for machines; but if a worker acquires silicosis or some other occupational disease, again compensation is small: "The worker's family, the worker's wife, their children, are the ones that pay most of this bill." And when the machine gets out of date, an "obsolescence account" will take care of the cost of replacement. But when the worker is made obsolete by automation or some technological change, where is the "obsolescence account" to provide for his re-training? Instead, we generally "take a skilled worker and reduce him to an unskilled worker."

The stand that Mr. Watkins took in Flint, the stand that every religious person must take if he is true to his heritage, is the one which sees beyond the processes of industry to the person involved in the process, behind the man-hour production figures to the man who put in that hour, back of "technological unemployment" to the unemployed person hit by the technology. Persons are, and must be, always paramount. This is a basic fact which neither business nor labor may properly forget.

## Socrates on TV

" . . . and shall we just carelessly allow children to hear any casual tales which may be devised by casual persons and to receive in their minds ideas for the most part the very opposite of those which we would wish them to have when they are grown up?"

— Socrates, as quoted by  
Robert Brizzolard in  
Ave Maria

## Southerner And Integration

(Continued from Page 1)

to understand each other is to bring them together. That's why desegregation enforced by law will have good results, I think. Of course, it's true, as the South is so fond of saying, that you can't legislate human attitudes. But you certainly can, on the other hand, legislate conditions under which it's possible for attitudes to change more quickly. Moreover, the only way the average Southern Negro can be convinced that few whites hate him is to have desegregation and let him find out for himself. This, I think, is as important as converting whites.

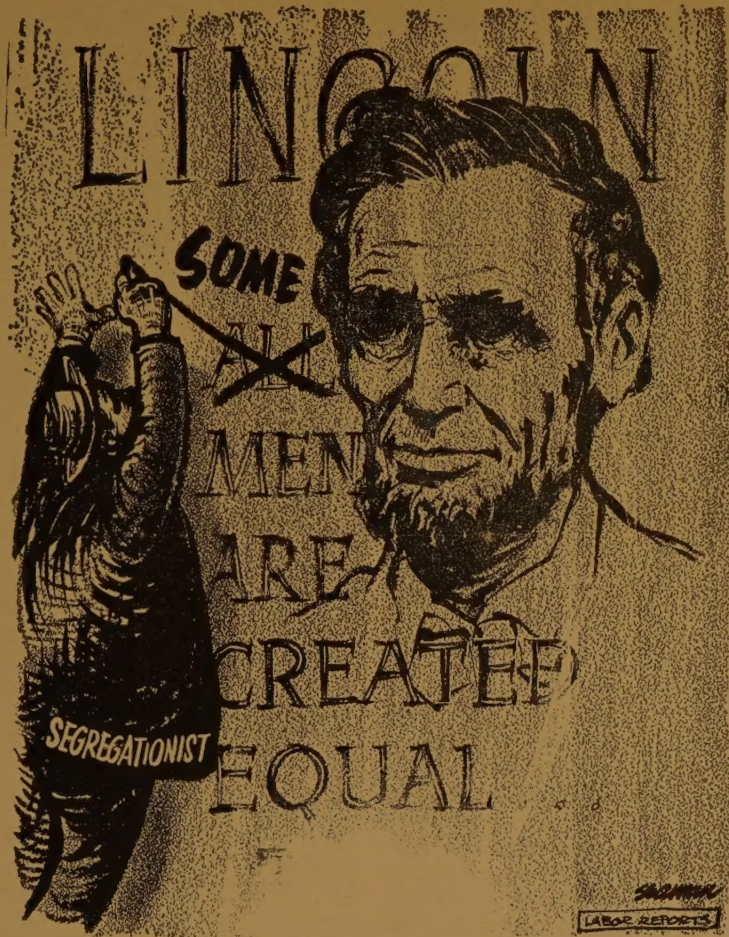
### Outcast from One's Own

But what about others like myself who have come to realize that segregation is both unChristian and undemocratic? Some have stood up to be counted, it is true. Indeed, many more have done so than you probably think, for their voices too often aren't heard beyond the small circle of their own communities. Yet out of fifty people who know and understand, and burn with righteous indignation for the injustices of their region, there may not be more than one — there may not be even one — who will stand up and make himself heard to the best of his ability. Why?

To answer bluntly, they simply haven't the courage. At the same time, it's not quite fair to judge their behavior by comparing the small number of whites who speak up with the relatively large number of Negroes who do so.

The minority member who makes an open stand for integration has the knowledge that he is giving voice to the official position of his group. Among his own he will often be thought of as a champion, and he will rightly be made to feel that he is a valued member of their society. But the white citizen who defends minority rights does not have this comfort. For his own people are the ones whom he has chosen to oppose. And many disapprove of this who approve the Negro's stand.

Suppose you believed that if you raised your voice to express your convictions you would grieve your parents, embarrass your sisters and brothers and endanger your children's social acceptance. Suppose you expected your own people to receive you as a traitor and as a threat to their welfare. Suppose you anticipated that your clubs, instead of commending you, would feel obliged to apologize for you, and would consider your membership a blot on their good name. Suppose on Sunday you could look forward to curt nods and stiff smiles from such fellow churchmen



as could summon sufficient Christianity, and the careful avoidance of those who could not summon it. Suppose you had noticed as the attacks on you grew hotter that many of your friends, instead of rallying round, found more and more excuses for knowing you less and less well. Suppose you could expect that in your community ugly stories would be circulated — stories that you were in the pay of communists, that you spent your evenings in disgraceful pleasures, or any other invention which would destroy your prestige. Ask yourselves honestly, are you sure that many of you would raise your voices then?

Yet this is a broad outline of what a white citizen expects when he takes a stand for racial equality against the proclaimed, official position of the white South.

### Restoring American Principles

Did you ever stop to think that the situation of the modern American Negro almost parallels that of white Americans before the Revolution? England discriminated against and oppressed us in the same way in which the white South now discriminates against and oppresses Negroes. And the result has been the same. Negroes today are swept with a

realization of the dignity of man, the rights of every individual and the certainty that brotherhood is the destiny of the human race.

Our oppressed minorities alone are in a position to understand what the fathers of our republic were talking about. Having always had their basic needs supplied, white Americans give their attention to superficialities. The average white never thinks about the innate dignity of man because he has never had his dignity challenged. He has never even known a man who has had his dignity challenged. Since such a thing is completely outside his experience, it cannot be for him a living issue.

It is the same with the principles of freedom, equality and the right to chosen pursuits. White Americans are not aware of the nature of these rich fulfillments because their experience has not included a lack of them. If the United States is to recapture a realization of the principles upon which she was founded, it must be with the help and guidance of our oppressed minority groups.

Integration is not merely the means of giving Negroes an opportunity for  
(Continued on Page 5)

## The Canadian Corner

### Convention Names Summers New Executive

The Canadian Religion-Labour Foundation at its annual convention held in Brantford, Ontario on January 12 elected the Rev. David F. Summers as executive secretary, succeeding Rev. E. Harold Toye, who is retiring. Dr. Summers, who recently received a Ph.D. degree from Edinburgh University, is pastor of the United Church of Canada in Carleton Place, Ontario.

The 125 delegates from 50 labour organizations and 50 religious groups heard a report by the Commission established a year ago to study "the function and policy" of R.-L.F. and approved its recommendations for a minimum annual budget of \$10,000, and that the work should be expanded to a fully national scale. Various denominational headquarters have already underwritten \$5,000, while the Canadian Labour Congress and the Ontario Federation of Labour have endorsed the R.-L.F., recommending support by their affiliates and undertaking to bring the total of labor contributions to at least \$5,000.

Dr. Summers will take over the work next July. The retiring secretary, Rev. Harold Toye, received expressions of appreciation for his leadership. He will remain a member of the executive. The Convention expressed its appreciation for the work of the special Commission by voting that it become the Board of Directors for 1959, with specific instructions to review the constitution and to present a slate of nominations for the 1960 directors.

Rev. Emerson W. Smith was guest speaker at the Convention, helping with his humour and informed insights to make it the best Convention yet held. Mr. Smith is associate secretary of the Methodist General Board of Social and Economic Relations and a member of the Religion and Labor Foundation (U.S.) executive board. In his address he made clear that there is need for such an organization as the R.-L.F., calling upon both Labour and Religion to adjust to a new day. In Labour's new power he saw certain dangers, and he warned the churches against standing aloof. Labour, he said, must preserve at all costs its ethical idealism, and he called for closer cooperation of the two forces toward this end.

A distinguished panel from both church and labour leadership led a discussion of Canada's unemployment problem. Chairman was the Rev. Dr. W. Harold Vaughn of Brantford, while other members were Mr. Murray Cotterill, Canadian publicity director of the United Steelworkers; Mr. Moses

McKay, labour representative on the Toronto Community Chest; the Rev. Stanley Knowles, a vice president of the Canadian Labour Congress; the Rev. W. C. Smith of Woodgreen United Church, Toronto; Mr. J. C. Harris of the government's Unemployment Insurance Commission, Brantford; and the Rev. Dr. J. R. Mutchmor, general secretary of the United Church Board of Evangelism and Social Service.

At the closing banquet, Mr. William Mahoney, Canadian Director of the United Steelworkers, was the speaker. "Unions," he said, "are not basically power groups for the welfare of their own organizations. We unions and churches have been pitted against each other too long. We are allies and should be marching arm in arm along the road of democratic freedom and justice. I hope this Convention is but a beginning on the road of co-operation that will be more extensive than ever before."

## Odds and Ends

A TWO-YEAR "INTERIM WORKING AGREEMENT" between the International Woodworkers of America and the Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers looks eventually "to accomplish organic unity through merger."

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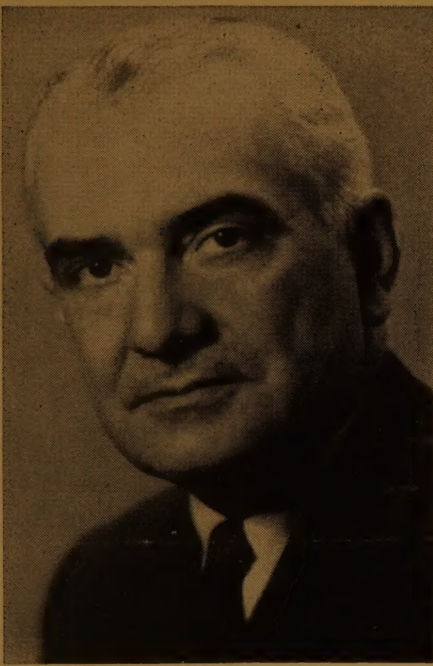
THE ILGWU AWARDED ten \$2,000 four-year college scholarships to children of members this year from its new National Scholarship Fund, established on the 25th anniversary of David Dubinsky's presidency of the union. The selection committee, made up of noted educators, picked the ten from 755 eligible applicants.

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THE "BILLION DOLLAR SALES CLUB" got seven new members in fiscal 1957, bringing the total of companies with such sales to 48. General Motors topped the list by more than three billion over the seven billion record of Standard Oil of New Jersey.

### STATEMENT — 1958

|                                                                                                                    |             |             |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------|-------------|
| CASH BALANCE December 31, 1957                                                                                     |             | \$ 1,964.55 |
| William Green Fund (Savings Account)                                                                               |             | 24,000.00   |
| Total December 31, 1957                                                                                            |             | \$25,964.55 |
| INCOME                                                                                                             |             |             |
| Annual Memberships and Contributions                                                                               | \$17,177.34 |             |
| Sale of Literature and Column                                                                                      | 1,863.31    |             |
| Seminary Conference, S. J. Award Dinner                                                                            | 5,323.00    |             |
| Miscellaneous                                                                                                      | 202.22      | 24,565.87   |
| TOTAL                                                                                                              |             | \$50,530.42 |
| EXPENSES                                                                                                           |             |             |
| Salaries                                                                                                           | \$16,311.21 |             |
| Travel                                                                                                             | 2,625.53    |             |
| Taxes (Social Security)                                                                                            | 279.88      |             |
| Dandar Moving Expense                                                                                              | 357.17      |             |
| New Equipment and Furniture                                                                                        | 511.17      |             |
| Rent                                                                                                               | 720.00      |             |
| Insurance                                                                                                          | 405.41      |             |
| Postage                                                                                                            | 776.79      |             |
| Telephone                                                                                                          | 555.00      |             |
| Office Supplies                                                                                                    | 355.04      |             |
| Outside Clerical                                                                                                   | 217.18      |             |
| Printing Religion and Labor                                                                                        | 1,765.45    |             |
| Other Printing                                                                                                     | 1,455.87    |             |
| Publications Purchased                                                                                             | 73.67       |             |
| Bank and Auditing Charges                                                                                          | 128.64      |             |
| Seminary Conference, S. J. Award Dinner                                                                            | 4,087.86    |             |
| Building Service and Equipment Upkeep                                                                              | 212.48      |             |
| Miscellaneous                                                                                                      | 232.30      | \$31,070.55 |
| William Green Fund (Savings Account)                                                                               |             | \$19,459.87 |
|                                                                                                                    |             | 17,500.00   |
| BALANCE ON HAND (Checking Account) January 1, 1959                                                                 |             | \$ 1,959.87 |
| Note: This statement is prepared from the auditor's report of George H. Noxon and Company, dated January 12, 1959. |             |             |



Rev. Roy McCorkel

## RLF Has New Co-Chairman

Rev. Roy McCorkel was elected at the January 15 Executive Board meeting of the Religion and Labor Foundation as Co-Chairman for Religion. He succeeds Rabbi Isidor B. Hoffman, who has been Co-Chairman since January, 1955. Dr. Hoffman will continue as a member of the Executive Board.

The new co-chairman is Director of the Commission on Religious Organizations of the National Conference of Christians and Jews. He is a member of the Society of Friends and makes his home in Swarthmore, Pennsylvania.

Mr. McCorkel, a graduate of the College of Wooster, Ohio and of Yale Divinity School, served the American Friends Service Committee for six years as director of their educational program in the field of international relations. Then from 1949 to 1951 he was European Director for CARE, followed by three years as Assistant Executive Director in charge of public relations in the New York office and from 1954 to 1956 was CARE director in India. Such responsibility has given him world-wide experience, including prolonged periods of residence in Switzerland and India.

Mr. McCorkel has also written frequently for magazines and has lectured widely on the relevance of religion to economic problems and to world affairs. He has been a member of the RLF board for several years.

## In Our Mail Bag

I am so grateful to you for sending me *Religion and Labor* regularly, which I both enjoy reading and find one of my vital sources for continuing my contact with religion-and-labor-relationship in the U.S.A. Many thanks.

I keep in touch with workers in London and suburbs by conducting classes in comparative religion, and psychology, for the Workers' Education Association.

With all good wishes,

V. V. Alexander  
25 Blomfield Road  
London W. 9, England

... Your literature, made available at the National Catholic Social Action Conference, impressed me as an excellent effort in a great cause, and I just wish to add my appreciation and good wishes. . . .

And may I add that you do a good work in furthering the much-needed understanding between religious groups which, in so many things, have the same high goal! I have had the honor and the pleasure of serving on a local Governor's Commission on Human Rights and Fair Employment Practices, and I think that by far the most stimulating and the most valuable discussion was on the question of religious tensions in the area. How much dissolves with understanding! . . .

May your good work enjoy success under God's blessing.

Sister Jeremy Hall, O.S.B.  
Chairman, Dept. of Sociology  
College of Saint Benedict  
St. Joseph, Minnesota

Enclosed check is for one year's subscription to *Religion and Labor*. . . . I am a licensed Lay Reader in the Episcopal Church and my occupation is Assistant Business Representative and Organizer of a labor union. So you see a magazine such as *Religion and Labor* should certainly be a must on my list of reading and study material.

Douglas E. Meixner  
Minneapolis, Minnesota

## Southerner And Integration

(Continued from Page 3)

self betterment. It is also the means of giving them the opportunity for bettering the nation. We need Negro missionaries to the white group who will re-awaken an understanding of the ideals of democracy and the spiritual truths of brotherhood.

Not only do colored citizens need full liberation, but also the nation needs their

## Reviewing RLF In 1958

The January 15 meeting of the RLF executive board, held in New York, heard a summary of the organization's 1958 activities in the 3,000-word report of the executive director, Dr. Clair M. Cook. Here are some of the points noted:

Circulation of RELIGION AND LABOR has increased from 1,400 to 1,700.

Nearly 5,000 copies of the AUTOMATION pamphlet have been distributed, and between 40,000 and 50,000 reprints of two Christian Century articles by Dr. Cook on "right-to-work" laws.

Rev. Alex Dandar joined the staff as field work director on May 1, and is developing the local religion-labor council program under the William Green Memorial Fund grant received in 1957.

During the year, dues-paying members increased by 25 per cent, and the number of group affiliations went up from 80 to 128.

The Social Justice Award, presented to the AFL-CIO Ethical Practices Committee, is now on display in the AFL-CIO building.

A new name was voted but has not yet been fully inaugurated — the Religion and Labor Council of America.

The office was moved on January 1, 1959, to larger quarters next door to those previously occupied.

A successful regional seminary conference was held in Cleveland, with the IBEW convention.

A few copies of the full report are available on request by any member.

## Progress

—There are more Negroes (over 128,000) attending college in the United States than there are Germans attending college in Germany.

—More Negroes own automobiles in the United States than are owned by all 216,000,000 or so Russian people.

—Since 1940 wages paid to Negroes have risen 400 per cent, as against 250 per cent for whites.

—About 200,000 Negroes own farms averaging 78 acres.

—The armed forces have been completely integrated.

—Some 1,250,000 Negroes are members of labor unions.

full liberation, and the world needs their full liberation. America can neither realize her own great ideals nor take her place in world leadership until her colored citizens are altogether free,

# Young People Learn About "Right-To-Work"

By James Turner

To contemplate and evaluate is a trait peculiar to man and requires the application of knowledge which comes only with study. The Planning and Training Conference of the Congregational Church Youth Groups in Ohio is one of the places where the youth study and learn about some of our most controversial issues.

This year the "right-to-work" amendment in Ohio because of its prominence was included in the social problems to be studied and evaluated. About fifty or sixty students from the ninth through the twelfth grades made up the group led by the state Action Commission advisor. Only four came from union families.

## Basic Religious Issues

The first thing the group did was try to determine the basic religious problems involved in the issue. As always in a theoretical moral discussion, they boiled down to freedom, equality and the pursuit of happiness to which all men are entitled.

Freedom is one of the most sacred possessions of a person living in a Christian democracy. At the slightest threat to this freedom a hue and cry is heard around the country — it's wrong to force people against their will, the constitution guarantees freedom, we should be allowed to better ourselves. All these arguments were used in an effort to convince people that the union shop is undemocratic and should be outlawed by the passage of a "right-to-work" law. All the statements were true and sounded good on the surface, but the students were not satisfied with opinions. They wanted facts and they got them. Using materials provided by the Religion and Labor Foundation and the Ohioans for Right-to-Work, they studied the issue very carefully.

It was true, they felt, that the union shop did impair the individual freedom of the workers slightly, but they were interested in over-all freedom. Before long they decided that the question was one of personal freedom vs. group freedom, or the individual rights vs. the good of the group. At this point a stalemate was reached, as some felt that the individual was more important while others felt that the individual *in relation to the group* was more important. All they could do then was go on to the next question, that of the equality of man.

## How Get Equality?

Here again the surface arguments, for "right-to-work" looked good. All men are equal. Then why should only the man willing to join a union get the available job? But the equality of all men was the real question. The only

way this has ever been achieved in our economic structure is by having a strong union balance a strong management.

There was an immediate answer. The unions are now too strong and must be weakened. When the students checked into this, though, they found that the major supporters of the right-to-work were not saying that it weakened unions. As a matter of fact, some were even trying to show that it strengthened unions. Needless to say the argument was discounted. Still there were those who felt it improper to put the restriction of unionism on a man's job.

The next major point was the pursuit of happiness. Which way is a man most likely to achieve this privilege — with or without a "right-to-work" law? Obviously a person's happiness is not as great when he is forced to join a union and pay dues where he feels it not necessary. Still, after studying the issue the students found that the average man had more of a chance for happiness when he joined a union.

Once there was a conflict of basic ideals. One feeling was that a man should be allowed to rise or fall in proportion to how well he could convince the boss. In contrast to this was the idea that an average decent standard should be established and maintained so that no one is working for ninety cents a day.

An individual's answer to the "right-to-work" law in relation to freedom, equality and pursuit of happiness will depend entirely on his standards. Certainly a man has more individual freedom without a union shop, but by not joining the organized group of the labor force is he helping to advance his freedom? When unionism is removed from the job requirement list, then the union and non-union men are equal — but is labor as a whole equal to management? A man with an exceptional ability, intellect, or amount of money is much more happy when left to his own resources — but what happens to the average man in this structure? These were the main questions that the group discussed and tried to understand.

## Practical Questions

But there were several other more practical things. Every one agreed that since the union was legally responsible to the workers, the workers should assume some responsibility toward the

Last summer our Field Director, Rev. Alex Dandar, led a group of fifty-odd Ohio Congregational-Christian youth in a week-long Planning and Training Conference. A key topic in their discussions was the question then agitating the state, "right-to-work" laws.

After conclusion of the sessions, Mr. Dandar asked Jim Turner, an Ohio State University student, to write an article concerning the discussions. We have slightly edited that account to present to our readers as an indication of one of the many facets of activity in the general area of religion and labor for which the services of our staff are frequently requested. It also indicates the thoughtful quality of our youth when confronted with questions of religion and labor.

union. There was some dissension over whether this responsibility should be voluntary or not. Some felt it would mean more on a voluntary basis. Others pointed out that then each union would have to spend time, energy and money for the purpose of gaining members. This would detract time, energy and money from the labor field of the unions and greatly cut down their efficiency in working for better conditions. This could only be called a foolish waste.

A few other important things entered into the consideration of the "right-to-work" law. It was revealed that some members of management were making private statements against the "right-to-work" law. This seems strange until you consider their reasoning. They realize that without a union shop they will be forced to deal with many splinter groups. In their eyes this is very impractical, and what's more important, uneconomical.

The union shop is not made mandatory by the law. It is merely the result of an agreement between unions and management.

After consideration of the important points of contention many major church groups in Ohio and the United States have issued statements condemning the "right-to-work" law.

These few facts, added to the basic questions of freedom, equality, and the pursuit of happiness, formed the basis of the discussion on the "right-to-work" law. After several days the question was brought to a vote. The students had the knowledge and were now ready to evaluate. The result was a strong vote against the "right-to-work" law.

# THE RELIGION AND LABOR LIAISON OF RLF

By Clair M. Cook

*It has been suggested to us that our many new RLF members, and perhaps some of the old members, too, may not be too familiar with the activities of their organization and its basic outlook. As a means of taking an over-all view of what we are doing, we present the balance of the article used last month and originally printed by RELIGIOUS EDUCATION.*

The charter of the Religion and Labor Foundation — which, as a perennially penurious organization without endowment should probably never have been given the pretentious "Foundation" label — authorizes it "to conduct a program of inter-group education between organized religion of all faiths and the various organizations of labor; to encourage studies aimed at exploring and developing the areas of common social concern and to promote mutual understanding; to issue a regular publication devoted to reporting on studies of religion-labor cooperation; to establish fellowship groups for regular meeting of individuals from the fields of religion and labor in various localities; to study methods of improving cooperation and mutual understanding of labor and economic questions within theological training schools; to make ethical principles relevant to our entire industrial life; to hold conferences, conduct special studies and research, publish findings, and in other suitable ways bring religious and labor leaders into closer understanding and mutual harmony."

Either individuals or groups (such as a church or union, men's clubs, women's society) may become members, and receive the monthly publication *Religion and Labor*. But the chief educational techniques of the Religion and Labor Foundation are based on the belief that there is no substitute for direct personal acquaintance between churchmen and labor leaders. That is why the local Religion and Labor Council, whether chartered or unaffiliated, is of such proven vitality. With the recent addition of a Field Director, the Rev. Alex Dandar of the Congregational Church, these should increase in numbers and value.

Take a look at the Columbus, Ohio, group as an example, the oldest continuing local Religion and Labor community-wide fellowship, which began in 1942. A steering committee of local labor leaders and clergymen plans the monthly luncheon meetings, frequently held at the YWCA, where cafeteria service is coupled with an available private room for a monthly "Dutch treat" session, planned for adjournment

by 1:30 or earlier. On a recent occasion, Msgr. Kappas of the diocesan Catholic Charities Bureau and Harry Mayfield, president of the city CIO council, spoke on the local welfare problems in this period of unemployment and growing need. A couple of years ago the group, with thirty or so usually attending although with much fluctuation of personnel from one month to another, met alternately in church and labor settings. The meal served in a synagogue hall was kosher, and the young assistant to the rabbi spoke on the history of the predominantly Jewish needle trades unions. At a meeting in Carpenter's Hall, the business agent for the International Typographical Union and the editor of a local daily discussed "How We Solve Our Problems." In a Protestant church, the meal was followed by explanations of the current strike at Westinghouse. A priest, at a meeting in his parish hall, considered "Workers in Our Parish."

A by-product of the Columbus group's increase in understanding of labor relations has been occasional fact-finding duty by clergymen from their number in strike situations. When the Mayor set up such a citizens' committee in the Westinghouse strike, three of the four clergymen on it were active members of the group. Because they had performed a less official service a year and a half earlier in a 500-member strike of a steel local to help get long-stalled negotiations off dead center, they knew how to proceed and what to look for. Their report was consequently much more prompt and discerning than it could have been without this background.

Similar groups in Detroit, Dallas, Little Rock, Los Angeles, Cincinnati and elsewhere around the country have been frequently the only place where leaders from both factions of the divided labor movement got together. Also, as the rabbi chairman of the Fargo, North Dakota, chapter observed, this may likewise be the only place in town where clergy of the three faiths find common meeting ground.

It is not the Religion and Labor Foundation's intention to discuss housing, race relations in industry, collective bargaining problems, and other matters for the sake of doing something about them as a group. But the stimulus of discussion, the follow-up by concerned people returning to their own primary groups, may be the means of animating those who can follow through. In Fargo, for instance, a discussion on housing aroused a concern which resulted eventually in establishing a municipal

committee for local action. In Little Rock, the RLF was the first group to hold unsegregated meetings in a downtown hotel several years ago.

This educational technique based on personal fellowship could be adapted to many more local situations. To be put into practice, it does not require the coming of any outside "organizer" or field man, only a desire by local religious and labor leaders for a closer understanding. In Fresno, California the central labor body invited — by personal invitation of individual members to their pastors as well as by mail — clergymen to meet with labor leaders for a breakfast, the labor group footing the bill. Success resulted in continuation, with a steering committee, secretary, and a schedule of further meetings. Detroit has sometimes had luncheon meetings, sometimes dinner; Canton, Ohio, has experimented with an evening forum type of approach without a meal. Los Angeles maintains co-chairmen for religion and for labor, with quite sizable meetings, an executive board, a budget, and a letterhead.

A second educational technique of the Religion and Labor Foundation, aimed at seminary students, is based on the same principle of serving as the liaison agency for bringing people from the two realms into personal contact. For a number of years the RLF has brought theological students to major labor conventions, such as that of the AFL-CIO in December, 1957, at Atlantic City, when fifteen seminaries were represented. Observing the convention in action, holding their own sessions with church

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"When my wife heard that I supported just management-labor relations, she wanted all her kin put on my payroll!"

## "Automation" As Viewed in 1888

With the machine, in the abstract, the labor reformer can have no contest. The futility of opposing the forces making toward larger industrial development is clearly seen by him. His utmost restrictive effort is to prevent sudden and radical changes with consequent displacement of labor and attendant suffering. The demand of the labor organization is, however, that the machine shall be the servant of the producing masses as well as of the consuming; that its benefits shall be as great to the man who runs as to the man who owns it; that the leisure it creates accrue to mechanic as well as millionaire; that the child and mother be not taken from the home to operate it while the father is made a truant; in short that it be subordinated not alone to the greed of gain and desire for cheapness of production among capitalists, but to the needs, wants and general advancement of the working people.

— Frank K. Foster in the earliest American labor history, *The Labor Movement: The Problem of Today*, edited by George McNeill (1888).

## Religion-Labor Liaison

(Continued from Page 7)

leaders and guest speakers, the students find the experience one of lasting impressions. Wrote one of them recently: "My stereotypes of labor union officials were challenged in both directions. Some of the leaders were finer and more clear-thinking men than I had supposed — especially the Reuther brothers — and some were more benighted than I had expected. . . . The highlight of the conference for me was Victor Reuther's address and question-answer session in the meeting following the luncheon. I have had few exposures to labor's needs before, but Mr. Reuther really laid a claim on my life to do something to bring the church's resources and benefits to laboring people. I found a new area of concern for my ministry."

Such an experience need not be confined to seminarians and great international labor conventions. In every area there are AFL-CIO central labor bodies whose delegates are drawn from the constituent unions of all sorts in the community. They would welcome a visit of observation and acquaintance to one of their meetings by clergymen as individuals or as groups. Further, district and state conferences and conven-

## On Industrial Chaplains

Efforts have been made here and abroad in recent years to locate chaplains in industrial plants. For some reason these efforts have been given up after a shorter or longer period. Chaplains paid by management were suspected of trying to gain support for management policies through appeals to piety. Chaplains paid by unions have seldom appeared, and we have heard of no place where management and the unions joined in supporting a chaplaincy service.

Recently in England it was proposed that the church establish a system of industrial chaplains "rather like the army chaplains department." The Church of England newspaper took a dim view of this idea also. In a forthright editorial it said: "There is no possible parallel between the conditions of army life and those in industry. What is needed is a ministry of service to the men and women concerned and emphatically not a method of recruiting people to support parish services or to increase the numbers at the local parish church."

Then, apparently with a reference to the French organization of worker-priests, which was dissolved by the Catholic hierarchy a few years ago, the editorial continued: "It needs the spirit of service which accepts risk as the priest-workman accepted risk. Those experiments were good and brave efforts to carry the gospel into the proletarian world and although they could not be copied here exactly, they give the basis for any other efforts to reach workers in industry."

This suggests that the principal reason for the failure of efforts to establish a Christian industrial chaplaincy is that its purpose was to persuade industrial workers to serve the church, rather than to bring the church into the service of a particularly troubled and needy part of the human community.

—*The Christian Century*,  
January 21, 1959

tions of various labor groups, labor education institutes, and a wide variety of occasions offer additional opportunities in most cities for the same kind of first-hand acquaintance with the labor movement in action. Labor people generally are most receptive to approaches by religious leaders seeking such occasions for observation and knowledge.

This kind of education — self-education, perhaps — can be religious education for adult churchmen and labor leaders alike.

## RLF's Machinist-Minister

"Minister Also Leads Trade Union Here."

That was the headline in the Washington Evening Star for January 17. Below it appeared a picture of one of the faithful members of the RLF executive board and a news story about his unusual dual career.

W. G. "Gerry" Flinn is a Grand Lodge Representative in the Washington office of the International Association of Machinists, and serves as President A. J. Hayes' delegated proxy to the RLF board. The occasion for the story by Caspar Nannes, the paper's religion news editor, was Mr. Flinn's election as president of the Disciples of Christ Ministerial Association for the metropolitan Washington area. Mr. Flinn was vice president of the 25-member group last year.

Until recently, the Machinists' representative served for thirteen years as pastor of the Maryland Park Christian Church in Northeast Washington. But his part-time work was too successful, when the congregation became large enough to support a full-time pastor for the first time in its fifty years of existence.

Mr. Flinn was ordained in 1929 in his home church in Perry, Iowa, but as with many others, the depression interfered with his plans and he left Drake University for work as a garage mechanic and union man. But over the years he has continued to serve the Disciples of Christ as well as the Machinists.

Among his other responsibilities, he is a member of the Department of the Church and Economic Life in the National Council of Churches, treasurer and board member of the Association for the United Nations in the Capitol area, and secretary-treasurer of the Machinists' Non-Partisan Political League.

As a man with one foot firmly in each camp, "Gerry" Flinn's service to the cause of religion and labor is natural.



"The best place to look for a helping hand is at the end of your arm."